

The History & Politics of Modern China
Political Science 368/History 383
Syllabus for Autumn 2009
Dr. Paul E. Schroeder
Tentative and Subject to Change

China has scuttled Mao Zedong's call for permanent revolution and ideological orthodoxy, replacing it with an effort to raise Chinese living standards and make the country one of the major nations in the world.

This course explores the changes and continuities between traditional and modern China to aid our understanding of a country *still* in transition. A series of economic and structural reforms raise questions for the country's future:

How is China changing? Where does power lie? Can the Chinese Communist Party maintain political control over a rapidly growing civil society increasingly differentiated by new-found wealth, education, and opportunities? What has replaced Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought that gives the society a moral grounding? Will the Communist dynasty collapse, as so many other dynasties have, or will it evolve?

To answer these questions, we must consider the strength -- or fragility -- of what many see as the world's rising power. To do so, we examine the historical and political issues that have shaped development of the People's Republic, including the slow rot of the Qing Dynasty, the incursion of the West in the 19th and 20th Centuries, efforts at reform, and the revolution that toppled the last imperial regime.

We continue by examining the birth of the People's Republic, its organization, and the near ruin wrought by Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution. We also consider the social, economic, and political issues that may assist or limit China's further development as an economic and political power.

Running through the entire course is the question: How can a people fall for the strategy and tactics of someone who is genuinely evil? This comes out in our reading of Jung Chang's biography *Mao: The Unknown Story*.

STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES: Success in this course is accomplished through an understanding of the material presented in the assigned readings and lectures. Success depends on *keeping up with the readings and attending class*.

There will be **one take-home midterm** and a **take-home final exam**. The midterm counts for 30% of the grade and will cover all material through October 6. The final counts for 50% and will cover material from the entire course. ***Make-up exams are not offered unless there are extenuating and documented mitigating circumstances.***

There is also a short **research paper** of no longer than five pages. This paper counts for 20% of the grade and is **due December 3**. Please select any serious topic in China today that may have an impact on China's future, for example, finance, environment, the export model of development, society's safety net, increasing public demonstration, etc. See me for topic discussion and approval. While you may quote from assigned readings, I expect outside material to be used.

Please note: I am very familiar with the literature on China. Do not plagiarize another's writing in your research paper. If you quote portions of another's work, give proper credit. Plagiarism will lead to a zero for the paper if it is discovered. I prefer citations in footnotes, but end notes are accepted. Please include a bibliography at the end of your paper, which is not to be counted as one of your five pages.

READING ASSIGNMENTS:

Reading assignments are not onerous if you keep up with them. Please note that success in the exams depends greatly on answers that integrate class discussions and reading.

Books for Purchase:

1. June Teufel Dreyer: *China's Political System*, Sixth Edition, Pearson/Longman, 2008
2. Immanuel C. Y. Hsü: *The Rise of Modern China*, 6th Edition, Oxford U. Press, 2000.
3. Jung Chang: *Mao: The Unknown Story*, Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.

Book on Loan: Lucian W. Pye: *China, An Introduction*, any edition, Little, Brown.

Material posted on Blackboard is marked with an * and includes selections from the following:

1. Lucian Pye: *The Mandarin and the Cadre*
2. Edgar Snow: *Red Star Over China*
3. Harry Harding: *Organizing China*.
4. Mao Zedong: *Selected Writings and Speeches*.
5. Hong Yung Lee: *The Politics of the Cultural Revolution*.
6. Edward S. Steinfeld: *Forging Reform in China*.
7. Paul Schroeder, *Territorial Actors as Competitors for Power*.
8. Paul Schroeder: *Twisted Hierarchies: Re-examining the Structure of Authority in China*.
9. David Shambaugh: *China's Communist Party, Atrophy and Adaptation*.
10. Kristen A. Day: *China's Environment and the Challenge of Sustainable Development*.
11. Elizabeth Economy: *The River Runs Black*.
12. Barry Naughton: *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*.
13. Richard Louis Edmonds: *Managing the Chinese Environment*.
14. Fung Yu-lan: *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*
15. Charles R. McElwee II: *Who's Cleaning Up This Mess? CBR* January-February 2008.
16. Cheng Li: *China's Economic Decision-makers, CBR* March-April 2008.
17. Simon Elegant: *Roused by Disaster in Time*. June 2, 2008.
18. James Fallows: *The Connection Has Been Reset in Atlantic Monthly*, March 2008.
19. Abigail Cutler: *Penetrating the Great Firewall in Atlantic.com*, February 18, 2008.
20. Interviews with Peng Shuzi
21. David M. Lampton, *Policy Implementation in Post-Mao China*,

Schedule

August 25: Course Introduction

One Question

LEGACIES

What's left of traditional China? Has the past given way to the present and future? Has the Dynastic Cycle been put in the dust bin of history? We can't begin to answer these questions without considering the past.

August 27: Confucianism, Legalism, & Chinese Cultures

Dreyer, Ch. 1 *Pye (#2), Ch 2 *Fung: Ch. 14
Chang, Chs. 1-2 Film Clip: *The Sandpebbles*

September 1: The Imperial System

Dreyer, Ch 2 Hsü, Chs. 3 & 4

September 3: System Decay, Western Opportunism

Hsü, Chs. 6, 7, 8 & 9

September 8: Response & Collapse

Dreyer, Ch. 3 Hsü, Chs. 11 – 17

September 10: Revolution, Republic, & Warlords

Hsü, Ch. 20

September 15: World War I, Versailles & the New Cultural Movement

Hsu, Ch. 21

TWO PATHS

The KMT and CCP had considerable interaction during this period. For purposes of clarity, however, we will discuss each party separately in terms of intra-party disputes. We will consider the inter-party cooperation and lack thereof in the final section. Further, our goal is to understand the development of Mao Zedong Thought as prelude to the events that helped shape the first 30 years of the People's Republic of China.

September 17: Warring States, Warring Parties

*Map

September 22: The Kuomintang (1916 – 1927)

Hsü, Chs. 22 & 23

September 24: The Communists (1920 – 1927)

Dreyer, Ch. 4

*Mao Zedong, *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*

Chang: Chs. 3-4

September 29: Wary Allies, Bitter Enemies, Part One (1927 – 1934)

*Mao Zedong, *The Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains*.

*Mao Zedong, *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*

Chang: Chs. 5-10

October 1: Wary Allies, Bitter Enemies, Part Two (1935-1945)

Hsü, Chs. 24, & 25 *Snow: pages 185-206

*Mao Zedong, *On New Democracy* Chang: Chs. 15-25

October 6: Civil War & CCP Coalitions (1945-1949)

*Mao Zedong, *On Coalition Government* (Part IV) Chang: Chs. 26-31

MIDTERM EXAM DISTRIBUTED
DUE OCTOBER 13 AT 23:60 HOURS VIA E-MAIL

FOUNDING: ORGANIZATION & CONSOLIDATION

October 8 - 13: Organizational Structure & Socialist Transformation (1949 - 1956)

We cannot cover all this material in class so ***PLEASE READ ALL THE MATERIAL.***

Part One – The New Order and Seeds of Conflict

Part Two – Rectification Campaigns: the Need for Control

Part Three – Land Reform

Part Four – Industrialization and Russian Relations

Dreyer, Ch. 5 *Harding, Chs. 1, 3-4

Chang: Ch. 37 Film Segments: *China: A Century of Revolution*

*Mao: Two Prefaces to *On the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture*

*PRC Government Structure *Naughton pp. 231-240

NO CLASS OCTOBER 20 FALL BREAK

October 15 – 22: The Great Leap Forward: Limits of Ideology & Leadership (1956 - 1961)

Movie: *China: A Century of Revolution*

Part One – High Tides, Fragrant Flowers & Stinking Weeds

Part Two – The Great Leap Forward

Part Three – The Great Leap Backward

Dreyer, Ch. 5 Chang: Chs. 39-41 *Harding Ch 6

*Shapiro, Introduction & Ch. 1

October 27-29: Recovery and the Contest for Power (1961 - 1965)

Chang: Chs. 44 and 46 *Harding Ch. 7 *Interviews with Peng Shuzi

CHAOS

November 3: The Cultural Revolution (1966 - 1976)

We cannot cover this event in one class so ***PLEASE READ ALL THE MATERIAL.***

Film clips: *Farewell My Concubine* and *China: A Century of Revolution*

*Lee: Introduction & Ch. 11 Chang: Chs. 47-56 *Pye (2), Ch. 4

*20th Century Genocides

November 5: Succession and the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee (1976 - 1979)

Hsü, Chs. 32-33 Chang: Chs. 57-58

THE SECOND FOUNDING

November 10: The Politics of Reform

*Schroeder: *Territorial Actors as Competitors for Power*.

*Schroeder: *Twisted Hierarchies: Re-examining the Structure of Authority in China*

November 12: The Reform Era

*Steinfeld, Chs 1-2

*Naughten, Ch 4

Hsü, Chs 35-37

November 17-19 Built-in Cushion on Time

WEALTH IS GOOD, BUT CONTROL IT

November 24: Economic Development

*Cheng Li: *China's Economic Decision-makers*

**Economic Policy Making in the PRC*

*Naughten, pp. 240-249 & Chs. 13, 16, 17 * Smil in Edmonds, pp. 211-227

*Lampton, Chapter 1

NO CLASS ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 26

December 1: Environmental Degradation

*Economy in Day, Ch. 4

*Zusman & Turner in Day, Ch 5

*Economy: Chs 1-2

*McElwee

*Shapiro, Ch. 5

*Liu & Diamond

A NEW SOCIETY: WILL THE CYCLE BREAK?

December 3: China on the Edge

*Shambaugh: Chs. 1, 6, & 8.

*Elegant

*Pei

Short Paper Due December 3 via e-mail at 23:60 hours

FINAL EXAM DISTRIBUTED
DUE DECEMBER 11 AT 23:60 HOURS VIA E-MAIL

END